20c APRIL 21, 1952

STEEL UNDER SEIZURE—page 5

New Republic

Campaigning with Kefauver

by John Hoving

"Socialized" Advertising

by Norman Thomas

Reviews of

VANDENBERG'S PAPERS by Gerald W. Johnson

THE COMMON PURSUIT by Dudley Fitts

INVISIBLE MAN by George Mayberry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● In all of the current search for a Democratic candidate for this year's election, I have been quite surprised at how little mention has been made of the name of the one person who, in my opinion, more than any other, is, for liberal-thinking Americans, the best qualified potential nominee—Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Humphrey is clearly the logical leader of liberal opinion in the Democratic Party, as it was he who led the great and successful fight staged by the progressive elements at the Philadelphia Convention of 1948. It was Senator (then Mayor) Humphrey's eloquent and inspired address which initiated that startling surge of liberal power which culminated in the defeat of the watered-down draft for a civil-rights platform plank and the adoption of the strong civil-rights statement.

Nomination of Humphrey in 1952 would undoubtedly again alienate extremist elements in the South, but if the 1948 election proved anything, it proved that a Democratic candidate, if his appeal to Northern voters is founded on a sufficiently wide basis, can win without the solid support of the South—and if necessary without any Southern electoral votes.

To those who would shy away from Humphrey because of his obvious unpopularity in the states of the old Confederacy, I quote from Humphrey's own Convention speech in which he stated that we cannot use a double standard. There is no room for double standards in American politics. For measuring our own and other peoples' policies, our demands for democratic practices in other lands will be no more effective than the guarantee of those practices in our own country. . . . To those who say that we are rushing this issue of civil rights, I say to them, we are 172 years late!

No political figure could better clarify for the electorate those issues which ought to form the basis for the nation's choice in the forthcoming Presidential contest.

Brooklyn, N. Y. DAVID I. WELLS

● The first things to think about in potential candidates for the Presidency are: availability, acceptability, possibility.

No one past 65 years of age should be a candidate regardless of ability or possible success. The life history of all of the Presidents since Lincoln indicates an average life span of 65 years. . . . The Presidency has become a tremendous burden. Many duties and many chores have been added in recent years and piled up the pressure upon the President.

The age of 65 would rule out Truman, MacArthur and many other valuable potential candidates.

Another factor is the necessity of naming candidates from states having more than 12 electoral votes. Capable men like Aiken of Vermont, Morse of Oregon and many others, cannot command, in a national convention, the support necessary to secure the nomination.

Justice William O. Douglas is the natural choice. Probably Gov. Adlai Stevenson would be next and Sen. Estes Kefauver third.

Detroit, Michigan FRANK KELLISON

The Vatican's Line

● Percy Winner's . . . appraisal of "The Vatican's New Line" (*NR*, Feb. 11) is most interesting and informative.

In dealing with the Vatican we must never forget that though it may adopt a new line the objective always remains the same: Power, unlimited power. Long ago the Papacy found out that spiritual power without political power is like dreaming with money and finding the pockets empty upon awakening; hence spirituality became an empty shell or just a mantle to hide the hunger for secular power.

Another article for which Mr. Winner deserves praise is about Franco (*NR*, Feb. 18). I believe that America is the only nation in history that, having the power to crush her enemies or to dictate the terms of co-operation, buys favors of and begs protection from a petty tyrant who only yesterday was allied with our enemies. . . .

Miami, Fla. J. M. MARTINEZ

Rating the Senators

● The article "Rating the Senators" in your issue of March 3 with the "Ranking by Political Scientists," is a valuable one. Yet I think our discriminatory judgment as to the fitness of the Senators might be further greatly helped if we could know the range on the table of those ranking close to what the authors mentioned as "the average, or typical grade about 75 percent." For instance, could you inform us the numbers, on the table of Senators names, of those whose percentage ratings fell within the range 70 percent to 80 percent inclusive?

Grinnell, Iowa ELMER W. GALT

● It occurs to me that your readers might like to have for background in connection with our study on the ranking of Senators by political scientists (*NR*, March 3) the report on the precise scores given to individual members. The following is a summary:

Rank	*Score*	
1	94	(Douglas)
2-20	80-88	
21-41	70-79	
42-73	60-69	
74-82	50-59	
83-91	40-49	
92-94	32-38	
95	20	(McCarthy)

Inasmuch as we had suggested that the average Senator get a score of 75 percent this seems to suggest that our respondents considered the average Senator to be below the average! I would rather incline to the view that the respondents hold a high standard for Senate membership, and that only about one-fourth of the Senate membership meet that high standard. On the other hand, less than one-fourth drew scores below 60, which might be considered a passing grade.

In an array by mean scores, it is the bottom 15 who seem to stand most apart from the others.

"Fitness" is an intangible thing. In the history of the Senate, it has varied sharply over the years for the various

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Watch Those Waterbugs

Commissioner Donohue yesterday announced his surprise at having found there is no loyalty investigation of District employees.

He said he is in favor of such investigation, particularly in such "sensitive" agencies as the water and sewer departments. — *From the Washington* Times-Herald.

Happy Days, Again?

Ronald J. Chinnock of Chicago, addressing the Milwaukee Board of Realtors: "I urge that Wisconsin people vote for Taft. He is the man who, since Herbert Hoover, best exemplifies the thinking of the National Association of Real-Estate Boards."—*From the Chicago* Sun-Times.

Modern Improvement

The modern bullet, in contrast (to those of the Civil War) travels at such high velocity that it is sterilized by heat, and being steel-jacketed does not change its shape, but drills a neat, aseptic hole through tissue and bone alike, usually passing completely out of the body. If the soldier is not killed at once, he will suffer less pain than his Civil War prototype. . . .—*From the New York* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR APRIL 21, 1952

5 Steel: What Next Mr. President? An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Failure at the UN
6 Rally for Point Four
6 Free Press Out West
7 Behind the Prague Purge
7 Another Magic Hormone
7 Free Trade in Moscow
8 America's Beneficent Waste
9 The Campaign by Herblock
10 "Socialized" Advertising, by Norman Thomas and Tom Brooks
12 Campaigning with Kefauver, by John Hoving
15 Property and Prejudice, by Edward Howden
17 Literature and the Arts:
17 *The Vandenberg Papers*, reviewed by Gerald W. Johnson
18 Leavis, *The Common Pursuit*, reviewed by Dudley Fitts
19 Ellison, *Invisible Man*, reviewed by George Mayberry
19 Leach, *Potter's Portfolio*, reviewed by John A. Pope
20 Ott, *The Art of Children*, reviewed by Robert Richman
20 Ayers, *Energy Sources*, reviewed by James R. Newman
21 Books in Brief
22 Music Criticism, by Robert Evett

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Arnold J. Heidenheimer
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Malcolm Cowley, Robert Evett
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Nicola Chiaramonte, Harold Clurman, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST, N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE USA.

WASHINGTON WIRE

WE CAN'T help feeling that liberals who are trying to support Eisenhower are in for bitter disillusionment. Last week we pointed out that Truman would veto the $40 billion states'-rights off-shore oil grab and asked what Ike would do. Now we know. The answer is official and definitive; Ike would sign the bill. Ike wrote Jack Porter, Texas campaign manager, March 28, in a letter printed by the Dallas *News*, April 7, that "federal ownership in this case, as in others, is one that is calculated to bring about steady progress toward centralized ownership and control, a trend which I have bitterly opposed." Mr. Porter explained, "There has never been any doubt in my mind as to the position General Eisenhower would take."

Let us see what this means. The Supreme Court has ruled four times that the off-shore mineral rights belong to the federal government and all the people. Ike attacks this theory as "centralized ownership . . . a trend which I have bitterly opposed." By the same logic Ike would give away all public lands. The bi-partisan American Council on Education, representing tens of thousands of schools and school teachers, endorses the Hill-O'Mahoney bill to earmark the revenue from offshore oil for federal education. The Senate defeated this bill, 50 to 35. Ike says the majority did right. Truman will fight for federal control and the oil-for-education bill so long as he is President and will veto the alternative states'-rights grab that would turn over so much of the nation's property to the three states of California, Texas and Louisiana for private exploitation. Ike says he would approve the grab. People ask where Ike stands. Well, here is one answer. He stands far to the right of the FDR-Truman New Deal.

Last week we predicted Ike's resignation would reach here "this Saturday (April 12)." Actually the news broke a day earlier, on Friday. We apologize. *Time* and *Newsweek* will have the story any day now.

Before coming home Ike will make a farewell tour to Brussels, the Hague, Oslo and Copenhagen, April 16-23. This journey will be the first Presidential campaign trip on European soil in history. Thought of it makes Taft leaders froth at the mouth. Ike today is probably at his all-time peak of postwar military popularity. One can't help sympathizing a bit with the Taft boys as they see him, in absentia, campaigning in uniform while they fight bitter primaries in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, April 22, and in Oregon, May 16. There is great danger here. Hitherto "internationalism" has been predominantly bi-partisan, even in the GOP. There is every indication that from now on Taft forces will try to pin the onus for every hardship, miscalculation and prejudice relating to world affairs on Ike, and in so doing will involve the nation in a raging foreign policy free-for-all. The House has just cut the $52 billion defense budget to $46 billion. It will be a wonder if the GOP family row does not extend into this, too.

Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R, Maine) wore a red rose on her left shoulder as she vindicated the Senate's honor against McCarthyism. While the swarthy, saturnine Senator from Wisconsin paced the floor restlessly last Thursday with a fixed smile, the little gray-haired woman from Skowhegan did what everybody has been wanting to do for two years—she gave him a tongue-lashing, couched in polite parliamentary terms, and she wound up with a 60-to-0 vote against him. For the lucky correspondents on hand it was the happiest day in 1952. McCarthy had slipped. Instead of denouncing helpless outsiders he had made the mistake of attacking as thieves and pick-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pockets the five-member Senate subcommittee of his colleagues set up to investigate him. Not one member of the 96 stood up to defend McCarthy's charges. He had advocates, it is true—Dirksen (R, Ill.) and Hickenlooper (R, Iowa)—but the best his pals could do was to pooh-pooh the whole affair. Indomitable Mrs. Smith, who seemed fairly to tower on the Senate floor, repeatedly asked the uncomfortable Hickenlooper if he had ever been called a "thief" by a colleague, and why he thought the charges unimportant?

The scene left a curious nightmare impression on us: that sinister smiling figure of McCarthy pacing restlessly, jumping up and down to interrupt others, making a bravura exit before the vote, was like an evil force that had somehow got loose amidst tumult and confusion and which some discomfited Senators were trying to hustle back into its box while others pretended it wasn't there.

A high British military official over here thinks the odds are 4-to-1 against war in the next 18 months. The British continue to feel with all their hearts that China is less subservient to Moscow than the US supposes, the chief disagreement between the two nations. As for a Korean truce, the patient Pentagon still believes, as it has for nine months, that it will come ultimately, and that China wants no more real war.

The Scripps-Howard press, with a touch of its old spirit, is crusading against the legalized retail price-fixing bill designed to make you and me and 15 million other consumers pay higher prices. If the manufacturer says his toothpaste sells for 50 cents a tube, under the ironically named "Fair Trade Act" the drugstore can't sell it for 29 cents. The lobby backing the bill has hired ex-Senator Millard Tydings to uphold its American right to charge high prices. In this always fantastic city of Washington it was Tydings, you remember, who was defeated for re-election because of charges sown by McCarthy of his sympathy toward "Communism."

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

members. Consider the changes in esteem for such men as Carter Glass, Burton Wheeler or Russell Nye. The citizen voter can only choose between two candidates, one usually a known incumbent, the other an untested contender. Our study is an intellectual exercise. No voter has the choice we put to the political scientists. What would really help the voter is a sound method of comparing the contenders before him on any given ballot.

No Senate has been composed only of "giants." This one would stack up well in history. The top one-third of it are a distinguished lot. Many of them are relatively young in the Senate. We can look for great things as they develop into senior members of the body.

Denver, Colo. BRYAN L. JOHNSON

Russell's Raid

● Your editorial "Russell's Raid" (*NR*, March 10) may be all right as to the intentions of Senator Russell and his associates, but your historical allusion is quite in error.

Stonewall Jackson's raid toward Washington may have had as its main purpose to hold back reinforcements from McClellan, but in my judgment, Jackson would have gone on to Washington if McDowell had not been held back. Remember what Early did when Grant stripped the Capital of its protecting force, and how he would have probably taken the city if Grant had not sent a couple of divisions to the rescue; think of the difference between Early and Jackson and between Grant and McClellan, and it is not hard to conceive that Washington might have fallen in '62. Moreover, McClellan had abundant force to have taken Richmond if he had had the "guts." If Phil Kearney or Fritz John Porter had been in command of the Army of the Potomac in that campaign, Richmond would have been taken after Seven Pines, or after Gaines Mill, and, particularly after Malvern Hill.

As to Senator Russell, his cowardly action as head of the MacArthur investigation committee, in failing to make a report while the Republican minority members took advantage of the situation to report untruthfully in favor of MacArthur, stamps Russell as unfit for high office.

Los Angeles, Calif. FRANK C. REID

League for Industrial Democracy

● May we call the attention of the *New Republic* readers to the 47th Annual Conference of the League of Industrial Democracy to be held on Friday and Saturday, April 25 and 26, 1952, in the Hotel Commodore, New York. The subject of the Conference will be "Wanted: A Moral Awakening in America," and will deal with some of the causes of crime, corruption and low ethical standards in our economic, cultural and political life.

The main event of the Conference will be the luncheon in the Grand Ballroom, at which citations will be presented to John Haynes Holmes, in recognition of his 45 years of civic and ethical leadership in New York, and to Philip Murray, President of the CIO, for his 50 years of outstanding service to the cause of labor. The luncheon speakers will include former Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO; Charles S. Zimmerman, Vice-President, ILGWU, and Nathaniel M. Minkoff, President of the LID, toastmaster.

The Conference will begin Friday with a panel-discussion on the need for higher ethical standards in education, with Dr. George S. Counts, Abraham Lefkowitz, and college and high-school students on the panel. It will conclude with a Saturday afternoon session on how to fight political corruption, addressed by Mrs. Douglas, Rep. Jacob K. Javits, Norman Thomas and others. The second session on Saturday morning will be devoted to higher ethics in industry with James Rorty, Mark Starr, Leland Olds, Nancy Adam and August Claessens as speakers.

Admission to the round tables is 50 cents each; to the luncheon, $5. Reservations may be sent to Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 9th Street, New York 3, New York.

New York, N. Y. HARRY W. LAIDLER

Now Available

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A Statement of His Views

Reprints from the *New Republic* of February 18, 1952

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1416 F St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Please send me.....copies at 10 cents each. I am enclosing $.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY.....STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 126, NUMBER 16, ISSUE 1951, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 21, 1952 **New Republic**

STEEL: WHAT NEXT, MR. PRESIDENT?

THE ALARMING demagoguery displayed by Inland Steel President Clarence Randall in his nationwide radio and television answer to President Truman's seizure action in the steel-wage dispute offers convincing evidence that the case for the steel industry is even weaker than was supposed.

The seizure, which has already received *de facto* acceptance by the courts, was a logical act on the part of President Truman. Condemnation of the step by industry spokesmen and their many powerful friends was to be expected. But the highly emotional form of management's attack on the government's position, flagrant in its disdain for reason, came as a considerable surprise. It was an easy matter for Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), a former law-school dean, to expose the baselessness of industry's protest, from the Senate floor:

> I should like to suggest to those whom I have heard today express themselves on constitutional law, whose views in my opinion should be laughed out of any freshman course in constitutional law in any of our law schools, that they will never live so long as to read a decision of the United States Supreme Court holding that in this land in time of great national peril the President of the United States does not have the inherent powers under the Constitution to protect the safety and security of the Nation until Congress gets off its haunches and proceeds to meet its constitutional obligations and perform its duty.

Seizure may be a legitimate issue, but is it not germane to the fundamental question of a proper settlement of the present steel-wage issue within the framework of our economic stabilization law. This matter now comes down to a single question, one which the steel producers have been studiously avoiding, namely: Can the steel companies absorb the increase in pay recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board and still realize adequate profits? It seems fair that Mr. Randall, Mr. Benjamin Fairless of US Steel and other manufacturers be asked to answer a distinct yes or no. But, they evade the question, screaming countercharges on a variety of other subjects, while they insist that precedent has established their right to a price increase for every wage increase, without having to justify it on each occasion.

Under seizure, the steel industry has certainly not been foreclosed from continuing the battle for its demands. In spite of the formal recommendation of the stabilization agencies, negotiations between labor and management continue as before, and the possibility exists that the fact-finding recommendations will finally be pared down or scrapped after time-consuming contract bargaining. Time is on the side of the companies. Every day that the President or his appointive representative, Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, fail to institute the full WSB-recommended increase they have renewed hopes of a compromise settlement, both wage-wise and price-wise. Every week that the government holds the mills on this basis the producers, who have not agreed to any retroactivity in pay, save approximately $7 million in their wage bill.

It has been reported that the government is considering ordering a "down-payment" to the steelworkers based on the industry's last offer which would provide an immediate raise of perhaps 12.5 cents an hour plus five cents an hour more in "fringe" benefits. This could serve to nullify the whole effect of the WSB formula.

The steel companies have another advantage in the fact that although their good friend Charles E. Wilson is gone, they have an equally devoted friend in the new Acting Director of Mobilization John R. Steelman. Almost invariably, Steelman's role in past industrial disputes has been to devise some sly maneuver by which the unions get the short end of the stick. The railroad unions, all of which except the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen will soon celebrate one year under government seizure, highly profitable to the companies, will be long in recovering from his mediation. Labor's hope, this time, is that Steelman's role may be minimized by the active participation in the negotiations of WSB Chairman Nathan Feinsinger, and Assistant Chairman Frederick Bullen.

President Truman would have been delinquent in his duty had he failed to seize the steel mills. Now it would be intolerable to subject the steelworkers to further lengthy bargaining without an immediate raise. We believe that Truman has no alternative but immediately to order the full WSB recommendation and inform the steel companies that they can have their properties back only when they agree to this in contract with the CIO steelworkers and accept the $2 to $3 Capehart amendment increase as their total price relief.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

FAILURE AT THE UN

The tendency of the rich-versus-poor nation conflict to elbow the East-West Cold War out of the UN limelight has not abated since the UN's return to New York. Ever since the French placed the moderate Tunisian Nationalist leader Habib Bourguiba under house arrest, an African-Asian group whose size has ranged from 11 to 15 nations has been keeping a vigilant eye on the situation in North Africa. All winter this group was deterred from bringing the worsening Tunisian situation into the UN by private assurances, often conveyed through the US, that the French were planning a broad program of conciliation in the Protectorate including substantial concessions to the home-rule demands of the Nationalists.

However, the forcible ouster of the Nationalist Ministers and the installation of the pro-French Saleheddine Baccouche as Premier convinced the group that its moderation was producing no results, and 11 nations asked the Security Council to take up the Tunisian matter as one that constituted a threat to international peace and security.

Their decision to do so placed the US squarely on the spot between its obligations to a key ally in the North Atlantic Pact and its professions of support for the legitimate nationalist aspirations of the underdeveloped areas. It was fully realized that an American decision to abstain would doom any chance of mustering the seven votes needed to get the item on the agenda.

The American mission at the UN, remembering the sharp hostility that was kindled at Paris by our vote—on French insistence—in favor of postponement of discussion of the Moroccan issue, hoped that in this case the Department would permit the American representative to vote in favor of placing the issue on the agenda at least. But a few hours before the Security Council convened the US delegation received instructions to abstain.

The full implications of these instructions were quickly made clear in an unusually stormy speech by Prof. Ahmed S. Bokhari of Pakistan, this month's President of the Security Council. "Where else would the French want the distressed, suppressed Tunisians to go if not to the UN," he demanded. Referring to the fact that 11 nations in Asia and Africa were behind the request that Tunisia be placed on the agenda, Bokhari asked whether the UN with practically "the whole of Asia knocking at its doors" would say, "You can go to hell. We will not discuss this question."

A disquieting aspect of the Tunisian affair is that the six members of the Council who are also members of the North Atlantic Pact — the US, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Greece and Turkey—are also the ones that either abstained or voted against discussion of the issue. This has accentuated the suspicion of the underdeveloped countries that the Pact is as much a weapon against their nationalist aspiration as it is a defense measure against the Russians.

RALLY FOR POINT FOUR

The Point Four Conference that gathered in Washington on April 7 was the most impressive meeting held here in many years. The small core of liberals who organized the conference by mail hoped that 700 delegates would turn up. Instead 1,263 delegates came. They represented 296 organizations, ranging from the ADA and the AVC to Sears Roebuck and the Farm Bureau Federation.

The conference proved that the Point Four idea is widely supported; also that it is interpreted in many ways. The delegates heard representatives of the Cotton Producers' Association and the International Chamber of Commerce present Point Four as a tax-rebate program for private investors. They smiled when Allan Kline of the Farm Bureau dodged a defense of tariff barriers on farm products. They applauded Justice Douglas' insistence that Point Four expenditures should be tied to radical measures of social reform. And some agreed that only following world disarmament could the Point Four program be carried out.

After three days of discussion and 72 speeches the conference ended, asserting that as the pace of rearmament slackens, Point Four will become a major aspect of US policy. One hundred delegates, led by Murray Lincoln, spent another evening discussing plans for continued action. They agreed that the Point Four Information Service, now operating in Washington, should become a clearing house to provide information, to help in organizing regional conferences, and to attempt to direct people-to-people programs for training, exchange and aid.

FREE PRESS OUT WEST

The publisher of a Las Vegas, Nev., newspaper has instituted a million-dollar damage suit against Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) charging that the Senator is responsible for an advertising boycott against the Las Vegas *Sun*. Last month Publisher H. M. Greenspun ran a series of articles that were critical of McCarran. On March 22, following publication of the series, Greenspun received telephone calls from the owners of the 12 major resort hotels and downtown gambling casinos cancelling their ads which make up approximately 30 percent of the newspaper's revenue.

McCarran, it is alleged, called the hotel operators from his Washington office, warning them that unless they withdrew their advertising from the *Sun*, he would no longer aid the gambling industry. The allegation is that it was as a result of this phone call, which McCarran denies he made, that the hotel establishments launched their advertising boycott.

C. D. Baker, Mayor of Las Vegas, has denounced "the obvious attempt to stifle

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

freedom of the press." "Neither the gambling industry nor any politician in Washington," Mayor Baker says, "will be permitted to destroy a legitimate enterprise in this community." Greenspun's suit against McCarran and the 12 hotels also asks treble the actual damages of $266 a day for as long as the "boycott" exists.

BEHIND THE PRAGUE PURGE

Returning from a prolonged course of indoctrination in Moscow, the new Czechoslovak Deputy Defense Minister, General Hruska, has thrown some further light on the recent arrests of Rudolf Slansky, former secretary-general of the Czech Communist Party and a score of other high-placed Communists. Slansky and his fellow-victims had evidently been selected as a sacrifice to popular discontent over the lowered standard of living. Slansky had been in charge of the economic ministry. But, according to General Hruska, the root cause of his and his comrades treason was that they were "cosmopolitans," and therefore naturally disposed to become agents of US imperialism.

It is not difficult to see at what Hruska was aiming in telling Czech workers of mysterious "cosmopolitan" strangers in their midst. Slansky and most of the other Prague Communists arrested were Jews. They seem to have been removed in an attempt to appease the latent anti-semitism which lingers in parts of the population. In Slovakia, especially, the peasants tended crudely to identify all Prague Communists as "Jews." Surveying the situation, the Soviet ambassador, Lavrietev, decided that the best way of meeting this discontent was to purge the Prague government of its most prominent Jewish members.

ANOTHER MAGIC HORMONE

NEW YORK CITY

A new scientific development promises to be of great importance in the production of livestock. A recently isolated form of a female sex hormone, Estradiol Cyclopentylpropionate, popularly called "ECP," greatly reduces sterility among farm animals, in the case of cattle as much as 60 to 70 percent. It also makes it possible for ewes to lamb twice a year instead of once, thus doubling the annual wool and mutton production at practically no additional cost.

The importance of this new hormone is underlined by Dr. J. L. Davidson of the Upjohn Company, its manufacturer, when he points out that by 1975, on a basis of present population trends, this country will need annually 5.5 billion pounds of additional meat and 10 billion quarts of additional milk; such production would normally require 100 million acres of additional farm land —which do not exist.

FREE TRADE IN MOSCOW

No Communist-organized meeting in recent years has been so full of sweetness and so free of abuse as the Economic Conference just concluded in Moscow. In contrast to the loudly demonstrating youth at Berlin and the militantly dogmatic intellectuals at Wroclaw, the meeting of the economists has been a feast of reason. Hardly a mention of Wall Street marred the discussion in which Soviet spokesmen made alluringly concrete proposals of what sorts of goods they are prepared to trade with Europe, Asia and the United States.

The emphasis throughout was to give the meeting an atmosphere of spontaneity. This was illustrated most strikingly by the outlandish picture of an American businessman, Oliver Vickery of San Francisco, who used the Moscow platform to eulogize free trade and private enterprise. Lord John Boyd Orr, the former head of FAO and the most prominent participant from the West, was also allowed free rein to express his reasons for attending. Boyd Orr recalled that he had once sought to rally all the world's nations to a joint agricultural improvement program, had won business support but had been frustrated by the politicians.

The real climax of the proceedings, however, was the speech by the chairman of the USSR Chamber of Conference who proceeded to spell out the Kremlin's latest strategy for breaking the Western alliance. Naming in turn each of the major European countries, he enumerated the employment and other benefits which would accrue to them as the result of his dramatic proposals for breaking through current barriers to increase Soviet purchases abroad by $3 billion annually. He held out alluring promises to hard-pressed economic ministers in many countries. The Soviet proposal to buy large consignments of British textiles was an attempt to exploit the difficult political situation created by the 75,000 unemployed in British textile mills. Similarly the Soviet proposal to export machinery to Southeast Asia has caused interest there. Some delegates from Asia even called for the formation of a Stalin plan for their region.

The over-all pattern behind the Conference appears to be a Soviet attempt to break the fairly tight embargo on East-West trade which the US has succeeded in getting most of its allies to adopt. The Soviets hope to arouse high hopes in European and Asian countries, and then demand that they be allowed to buy not only textiles but also heavy machinery and other goods on the embargo lists. It was in anticipation of such tactics that Secretary Acheson denounced the conference as a Soviet ruse.

Actually the Soviets will have to overcome more than just the undisguised opposition of the US if it is to do anything about its promises. The normal patterns of trade are also against her. Even in 1947, before the East-West split, only 1.2 percent of Britain's exports went to Russia, and less of her imports came from there. The fact is that Russia does not need the textiles Britain has to sell, and Britain can easily sell elsewhere the machinery Russia wants. Similarly Russia's lack of surplus machinery and consumer goods always held her trade with Asia down to a trickle. India's imports from Russia in 1948 were only .6 percent of her total imports. And Pakistan which sold fairly heavily to Russia in 1948, was able to get only .8 percent of her imports from the Soviets, an indication of the difficulties Russia's customers find when they get down to brass tacks.

The next installment in the series "Consecrated Tory — Robert A. Taft," dealing with Taft's Welfare State, will appear in an early issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S BENEFICENT WASTE

WHEN France's grand old warrior-statesman Georges Clemenceau came to visit the United States shortly after the end of World War I, he was given the elaborate official welcome in New York harbor customary in those years for top-level visiting VIPs. Off Quarantine, on Staten Island, scores of newspaper reporters and photographers boarded the ocean liner and laid siege to him. Still more were waiting on the official tugboat when Otto Kahn of the reception committee led him across the gangplank, and those who had been on the liner trooped after them. On the way up the bay, there were more interviews and picture taking.

The old man was relatively patient, but at one point he turned to Kahn and remarked that surely all these interviews and pictures could not possibly be used. The performance, he said, was of course a compliment to France and himself. Yet it also seemed to him a shocking *gaspillage*—a waste. Kahn, a banker, commented that waste was a necessary element in the American economic system. It seemed to me, a cub reporter, that the comment was typical of the cynicism and lack of true understanding of America of a man too deeply European to become a good American.

Yet, recently, on my first Sunday in New York after more than three years in Europe, Africa and Asia, I saw, lifted and was weighed down in spirit by the daily newspapers. Their size made me remember Kahn's comment, for the 400 pages of the New York *Times* made a troubling contrast with the dozen or so of the *Observer* of London, perhaps the best Sunday newspaper in Europe if not in the whole world.

Americans can afford what seems to many Europeans (and to some Americans) to be waste. Perhaps, as Kahn suggested, the American system needs the waste. But the fact that America can afford (and perhaps needs) to use up a huge proportion of the world's available supply of the newsprint doesn't help the world system which it is present American policy to build up. Certainly it tends to defeat a major aim of American policy; it keeps millions of non-Americans inadequately informed both about the realities of the American system and about the desirability of the world system which America sponsors.

There are, for example, Europeans who, though uncompromisingly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, need help in understanding that the free enterprise, which makes America able and willing to gobble up a disproportionate amount of the world's available newsprint, isn't a form of economic irresponsibility or even of aggression. They need an explanation of the contradiction between America's obviously sincere preaching of the gospel of democracy and American private business's apparently selfish, or at least thoughtless, limitation of the rest of the world's chance to carry out through a free press the practical good works of democracy.

Among thoughtful Europeans there is no doubt whatsoever that American economic power has helped and is helping Europe face what a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times* the other day called the "naked problem of survival in freedom and security." There is little doubt too of the soundness of the view General Eisenhower set forth in his first annual SHAPE report that "it would be fatuous for anyone to assume that the taxpayers of America will continue to pour money and resources into Europe unless encouraged by steady progress toward mutual co-operation." The advertisement in the *Times*, paid for by the American Committee on United Europe, went further: ". . . in the long run Americans cannot continue indefinitely to make the gravest economic sacrifices to support the renaissance of Europe."

The notion that Americans are making "the gravest economic sacrifices" is, so far as I can judge, almost universally held in this country. On the other hand, few men I have met understand, let alone sympathize with, the widely held European notion that America is able to make greater sacrifices now precisely because it has inherited the possibilities, prestige and power which Europe lost through sacrifices already made in two wars.

Moreover, the idea of American sacrifices, as stated by the wealthy or important members of the Committee and as I have heard it stated, runs into the European belief that the help to Europe is at least partially also helping American economy. The benefactions given to the poor relations have not noticeably impoverished the rich uncles. The publishers of a huge American newspaper which is sold for less than what it costs to produce aren't losing money.

But Europeans are worried even more about the possibility of American *overproduction*. They no longer dread—as they did as late as a year or so ago—that the need to maintain outlets for production might force America toward preventive war or any other kind of war. Aneurin Bevan in England, Claude Bourdet in France and others like them may still hold out this fearsome prospect; their supporters have decreased. But what would be the result both in economic terms, and also in terms of their psychological consequences, of a triumph of the American tendency to believe that help for the rest of the world is a "sacrifice," and hence of the gradual arrest of a flow of goods and money outside America?

Since the beneficent "waste" on which (these Europeans believe) the American system depends for full employment and prosperity is the key to American policy, where would that policy turn? Almost certainly, the influence of the men of the far Right who would be in power in Western Europe would offer proof to those Americans already predisposed to believe that the road to the dependable "position of strength" against Communism lies through getting rid of the various crypto-Communisms which some old-fashioned men insist on calling liberalism or social justice or progress.

New York PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CAMPAIGN by HERBLOCK

Let's See, Now—Who'd Make a Good Husband for Her?

Didn't You Know, Dearie? This Is Leap Year.

If You're Going to Try to Win, I Won't Play.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"SOCIALIZED" ADVERTISING

by Norman Thomas and Tom Brooks

PRESIDENT TRUMAN recently made a frontal attack on the current million-dollar advertising campaign of the private power interests. "You can hardly pick up a newspaper or a magazine these days," the President said, "without seeing an expensive full-page advertisement denouncing the 'Socialism' of our public power program."

The powerful utility interests, Truman points out, are trying a new line of propaganda: "They raised the cry of 'Socialism'—apparently on the theory that if you can't persuade people, maybe you can frighten them; if you haven't got the facts, try a few scare words.

"The cost of those ads is mostly paid for by the taxpayers, because the costs of such advertising are deductible for income-tax purposes. It looks to me as though that advertising campaign itself is pretty close to 'Socialism', because the taxpayers finance so much of the cost."

The President's observation is one which is shared by all who have watched the steady stream of "advertorials" aimed at labor and all liberal ideas, disguised as an attack on Socialism. The election campaigns this year will intensify the propaganda barrage. Advertisers will pass the cost of their ads to the public by masking the political content under the guise of tax-free "institutional advertising."

The well-developed habit of slurring together the Welfare State, Socialism and totalitarian Communism first attracted our attention some months ago. A brief appeal to the readers of the *Socialist Call* brought in overwhelming response. Now not a day goes by but a letter comes in with another clipping of another ad urging: "Let your leaders know that you oppose 'Socialistic' schemes that lead to Communism."

Joseph T. Ferguson, who ran against Taft in the last Ohio Senatorial race, can testify to the political power of ad propaganda. Corporations deducted as business expenses advertising favoring Taft. Mr. Ferguson points out that "while these ads did not mention Taft's name, they were the type of thing that had the effect of scaring any voter to death who might be thinking of voting for the Administration."

The technique of fear is skillfully combined with the technique of avoidance. The voter is frightened into voting against something "Socialistic" while the Internal Revenue Department is lulled into acquiesence by the lack of any specific mention of either laws or candidates.

It is not institutional advertising, for example, to carry over the name of Roberts Dairy Company of Omaha, Nebr., such stuff as this: "Such teaching [the New Morality] constitutes a 'softening-up' process for totalitarianism. Its advocates are not only the stooges for Stalin, but also for the traitorous American Socialists who would, without any contribution of their own whatsoever, take over the wealth of the country accumulated throughout the past 175 years."

Theoretically, the cost of advertising—space and preparatory work—which is clearly in the area of public controversy and is of a lobbying nature designed to influence public opinion in favor of the signer—is not deductible. Nevertheless, in so far as we can discover, the costs of sponsoring the radio show *Meet Corliss Archer* and the present advertising program against "Socialized electricity" alike are deductible for "America's *business*-managed, tax paying Electric Light and Power Companies."

The campaign of the electric companies against the federal power program is a good example of propaganda aimed at a specific government proposal. A favorite method seems to be to prepare a full-page ad for magazines with national circulation and then have the same ad reproduced in local papers over the signature of the local power company. A recent ad layout in *American Magazine* charges that "the people who plan and work for a Socialistic USA know that permanent control of a few key industries and services will give the government the power to take over just about everything." We can finish reading the same ad in the *Toledo Union News*, placed by the Toledo Edison Company: "One of the key industries that they're trying to take over is electric light and power."

The same pattern is repeated time and again throughout the nation. The high point in this campaign must have been the full-page ad in *Collier's* which asked: "Do you want to pay for a government honeymoon at Niagara Falls?" The ad continues with the customary treatment: "The government plan is a long step toward Socialized electricity." *Collier's* then helped with an editorial which was later reproduced as a full-page ad in the New York *Times*. Among other things *Collier's* said that "the government's proposal is another example of the creeping Socialism that we discussed last week."

The discussion is legitimate while the coincidence is somewhat suspect. In this case American taxpayers

---

Norman Thomas has been the Socialist candidate for President of the US six times since 1928.

Tom Brooks, assistant education director of the ILGWU, has written articles for the Socialist Call *and* The Progressive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paid several times over for a distorted attack on a specific legislative proposal.

An indication of what is spent by business on propaganda can be glimpsed in the following figures: The Buchanan Committee, a special House committee investigating lobbying, in May, 1950, sent out questionnaires to 173 large corporations seeking information relative to lobbying activity over a three-year period (Jan. 1, 1947, to June 30, 1950). Sixty-five corporations out of those replying spent, according to their own admission, $2,194,519 for printing and distributing leaflets, booklets, books and other material dealing with public issues. Thirty-one reported spending $2,013,369 for advertising covering public issues.

The out which is provided by advertising is illustrated by a report to the Buchanan Committee from the NAM listing only 1.9 percent of the NAM's $4 million annual budget as allocated to legislative activities. Not mentioned was the $2 million allotted for a public-relations program or the $395,850 revealed to have been spent, largely on advertising, in the NAM campaign to abolish price controls. Attacks on specific legislative proposals, carried in ads whose costs were deductible, have been common. The Guaranty Trust Company of New York placed an ad in *Business Week* of April 4, 1949, which assailed President Truman's recommendations to the 1949 Congress. The oft-repeated refrain, "the proposed program is Socialistic," appears once more and again we pay for purely political propaganda.

Business Week of September 2, 1950, carried an ad for the National Education Campaign of the American Medical Association appealing for aid in "the medical profession's $1 million advertising campaign . . . designed to tell every American the truth about state Socialism." Did this money escape taxation also through "legitimate business expense"—or perhaps, as a "donation for educational purposes"?

Listing of them as donations for educational purposes exempts from taxation one series of ads brought to our attention. The Small Business Economic Foundation, "a non-profit organization to develop and promote a better understanding of the American Way of Life," is running a series (up to 105 at last count) of "educational ads" in the Midwest, South and Far West. While the ads do not seem to attack any specific measures on the surface, Dewitt Emery, President of the Foundation, is evidently not taking any chances. Contributions are tax-exempt on the grounds of education. We "explain to workers the advantages of our free competitive system of business" is his promise.

A majority of the ads we've seen in this series are aimed at taxation. "Do you wonder where your money goes?" is a favorite question, posed with many variations and always in bold black type. "In *less than five years*, the federal government spent more of *YOUR MONEY* than it spent during the *ENTIRE FIRST 152 YEARS* OF OUR NATION." "*You Pay* Income Taxes!" "*You Pay* Business Taxes!"

Since the Small Business Economic Foundation seems to be against all taxes, obviously their ads have little or no bearing on the Constitutional amendment to limit taxes now circulating the country. "You have no Constitutional right to keep one penny of your income," the Foundation screams across a full page in the Des Moines *Register* of February 6, 1952. "In 1949 the government took *one-fourth* of all the money earned by the American people. How much more of your income are you going to spend for government?" After this the "millionaires' amendment," limiting personal and corporate taxes to 25 percent of income, sounds appealing.

Number 99 in this series of educational efforts tells us to "GO BACK TO SLEEP, if you don't care. . . ." Then follows an interesting list: "If you don't care that the government has invested, committed or guaranteed billions of dollars of your tax money in various *non-veteran* enterprises . . . whether your money is loaned in a business you never heard of, or to *non-veterans* who couldn't get a loan from a private bank . . . if you don't care that, in the year 1951, BILLIONS of your tax money was loaned to *non-veteran* privileged groups —GO BACK TO SLEEP." (Our Italics) Evidently veterans' groups are too sacred—or too big—for the Foundation.

The Foundation does not neglect to do its bit for isolationism and consequently for Stalin. "How much longer can you pay to support your family, our defense program and continue to support the rest of the world?" Not long is Mr. Emery's fond hope. "*103 Billion DOLLARS* of Americans' earnings were *given away*."

"We're *healthy* and *wealthy*. . . . But how wise are we?" Not very, the Foundation replies several ads later: "Socialism is government ownership or control of the means of production [factories and businesses] and governments get this power by *different* methods!" (All this is in caps, 36-point, bold-face type.) In Russia the method is by "violence," in Britain, "nationalization" and in "America, instead of actually taking over the means of production from private owners, our government has . . . (the rest follows in caps, 24-point, bold-face type) *unlimited* power to *tax the earnings* of businesses! So now the owners can keep *only* 1/8 of what their business earn. This is Socialism in Disguise!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We quote the following in full since it is repeated throughout the series and is a gem of its kind:

If we are to stop Socialism in disguise, we must *insist* that our tax money be used only for defense and for this *moral* purpose

LIFE, LIBERTY, THE RIGHT TO EARN AND HOLD PROPERTY—these three gifts of God *preceded* all man-made laws and are *superior* to them. Therefore, the purpose of our government must be . . . "To make and enforce laws which protect every individual's God-given life, liberty and the right to earn and hold property from the *interference* of any other individual or group—and these laws must also protect people from the government itself."

Since an individual cannot lawfully *interfere* with the Life, Liberty or Property of another individual, then a *moral* government cannot lawfully *interfere* with the Life, Liberty or Property of individuals or groups.

The National Small Businessmen's Association, the parent body of the Foundation, is a registered lobby. The Foundation has the blessing of the largest oil and rubber in the country.

One member of Congress, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), has opened the way for an investigation into political propaganda by way of advertising. On April 1, Senator Humphrey told his colleagues that "newspapers and other publications and periodicals of America are flooded with what amounts to outright political advertising. One of the loopholes in our present laws affecting campaign expenditures is the use of political advertising by business concerns who deduct the cost from their tax returns."

Humphrey has called upon the Treasury Department to study its statutes on this question and, if they are adequate, to regulate the growing abuse. If the statutes are not adequate, Senator Humphrey plans to press for legislation to meet the problem. Holding up ads sponsored by the McGraw-Hill and Safeway Corporations, Humphrey charged that a recent Safeway "food and freedom" ad is "nothing but a wholesale attack upon the Defense Production Administration." McGraw Hill's ad entitled "Some Things are Worse Than Strikes" has nothing to do with the business of that company. Such ads are not only discriminatory in terms of other taxpayers (who must pay for the privilege of advertising their political views out of personal expenses), but are an open form of lobbying.

We have covered but a bare sampling of the material we have received over a four-month period. We have not discussed the role of such organizations as the NAM and the Foundation for Economic Education in the promotion of reactionary propaganda on a scale with which liberals cannot compete unless protected by a tax policy which does not allow exemption for expenditures on obviously political projects.

Socialists are alarmed by the nature of an attack on labor and all liberal ideas which not only masks itself as an attack on Socialism but also slurs over the gulf between Stalinist totalitarianism and democratic Socialism. This attack will increase in intensity with the approach of the fall elections. Among our strongest allies in the free world's contest with totalitarian Communism are the democratic Socialists of Europe and Asia, and they will watch our electioneering and its results closely. If the lies of reactionary ad propaganda go unanswered and unchallenged in the coming campaign, the repercussions abroad will be severe.

CAMPAIGNING WITH KEFAUVER

by John Hoving

THE STOREKEEPER had business in Madison and so he traveled the 150 miles from his home in northern Wisconsin to the state capital one day late in March. Being a good Democrat he stopped off at party headquarters to gossip about politics.

The Democratic officials, officially neutral in Presidential politics, asked their visitor from Clark County about Estes Kefauver who had just completed his first swing through the state.

"He's another Abraham Lincoln," the man from the north answered.

A few days later a prominent educator in Milwaukee heard Kefauver, minus his coonskin cap, deliver an off-the-cuff speech on foreign policy for half an hour and then answer all questions.

"I'm sure all the educators in the audience were very impressed," he commented. "I know I was."

A dairy farmer, running as a delegate on a favorite-son slate pledged to President Truman, dropped in at a general store near his farm just before election day and came away amazed.

"There were seven or eight farmers there—all Republicans, and they're going to vote for Kefauver," he reported.

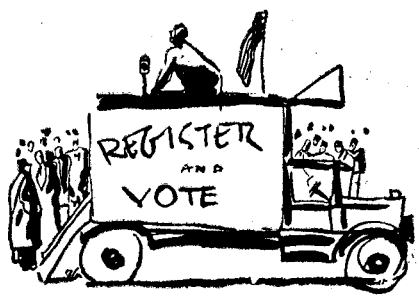
John Hoving, formerly a reporter for the Milwaukee Journal, accompanied Senator Kefauver through Wisconsin as his campaign manager.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These scattered comments help simply to explain what the Senator from Tennessee was able to do in five strenuous campaigning days in Wisconsin.

Kefauver's surface achievement on April 1, the same day he defeated Senator Kerr in Nebraska, was to swamp his opponents—two favorite-son slates pledged to Truman—and to capture the 28 delegate votes that Wisconsin Democrats will cast at Chicago in July.

But that tells only part of the story because his opponents in Wisconsin made hardly any effort to garner any votes. His real achievement was this: while winning his party's primary by a ten-to-one margin he boosted the Democratic vote total in the primary over that in 1948 by 86 percent. At the same time the Republican vote, despite whirlwind and expensive campaigns by Taft, Stassen and Warren, increased only 18 percent.



Wisconsin is somewhat unique in that there is no registration by party, and voters can move freely from party to party on primary day. The two largest newspapers in the state—the Milwaukee *Journal* and the Madison *Capital Times*—pounded away daily on the editorial theme that votes should go for Warren. They told all readers that "a vote for Warren is a vote for Eisenhower." It has long been the habit of former LaFollette Progressives and liberal Democrats to shift over and vote in the Republican column. The 1952 race had the added incentive that a defeat for Taft would be a rebuff for "Boss" Thomas Coleman, unofficial leader of the state GOP, and a weakening of the pro-McCarthy elements in Wisconsin.

Many Democrats did move to Warren but in nowhere near the numbers anticipated. One Eastern newspaperman summed up the general bewilderment of the press:

> I just don't understand this. In New Hampshire I thought it was just anti-Truman vote and didn't mean much. But look at those votes! Kefauver had no contest and those Democrats could have gone over and had all kinds of fun in the Republican Party. They could have voted for Warren or even for Taft. Why did they stay and vote for Kefauver?

Why did over 205,000 Democrats vote for Estes Kefauver when in 1948 a total of only 130,000 Democrats had voted for competing Democrats all pledged to Truman?

The answer is not television, although Kefauver drew particularly well in Milwaukee where there is a heavy concentration of television receivers. Wisconsin cannot be classified as "television territory." The Badger State has about one TV set for every 10 residents, well behind the average in the East and much of the Midwest.

The manager of the Taft campaign organization, one of the slickest, professional operations ever seen by Wisconsin voters, termed the Kefauver campaign "amateurish and silly," and from the standpoint of the operators this was probably true.

Certainly the Kefauver invasion of Republican Wisconsin started out in a most inauspicious way. His baggage disappeared somewhere between Buffalo, N. Y., and Chicago, and bad weather grounded the plane that was to take him to Eau Claire far in the north. The bedraggled trio that wandered through the Chicago railroad station hardly gave the impression of a political powerhouse. The Senator, his male secretary and his campaign manager bought three toothbrushes, picked up five stacks of papers and correspondence, held together by rubber bands, and boarded a sleeper.

Already 12 hours behind time, the "campaign" started at 7 a.m. the next morning in Eau Claire after the Senator borrowed a razor and got a clean shirt from a friendly haberdasher who was routed out of bed to open his shop two hours early and sell a shirt with a size 16½ collar and a 35-inch sleeve.

Fifteen minutes later Kefauver opened his fight on a radio program with emphasis on the twin themes that marked his entire Wisconsin visit.

Describing himself as a "loyal Democrat" he urged "new vigor and a more dynamic approach." He slammed hard at McCarthy in his home territory as he was to do in every speech.

"In past times the government considered all viewpoints in arriving at decisions," he said emphatically. "Guilt by association, the smear technique, forcing conformity in thinking and the use of such tactics is very unhealthy. I abhor all tendencies of McCarthyism."

From then on he smiled and posed for photographers who wanted pictures of college sorority pledges shining his shoes and also held audiences silent, despite his conversational almost monotonous mode of public speaking, as he described in studious terms the problems of foreign policy. He spoke in terms of hope about world peace, endorsing the Administration's position although placing more emphasis on Point Four and the need to work through the United Nations.

Wherever he went the now famous Kefauver hand-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shake was apparent. He stepped off the train upon his arrival and, after posing for pictures in snow up to his ankles, shook the hand of the only cab driver at the station. This same driver later couldn't remember where he had left his cab.

"Never talked before with a man who might be President," he explained.

After speeches Kefauver wandered through the crowds shaking hands with people. There is a difference between the Kefauver handshake and that provided by some vote seekers. Many politicans who make a trademark of handshaking give the impression that they are pulling you past them or at least looking ahead for the next fellow. Not so with Kefauver. Voters get the feeling that, after the traditional request for support, he would just as soon settle down for a 15- or 20-minute chat but, then, there are so many others to meet that he must reluctantly move along and defer the pleasure of an extended conversation.

If there is one feeling you get from watching Kefauver in action it is that there is "plenty of time." This, of course, is nonsense as the ulcers of his aides will testify. The sunrise-to-midnight schedule permitted no tarrying, but Kefauver just would not be rushed. There were always more people to say hello to, and that's the way he wanted it. A trip through a hotel lobby turns into a major engagement as the Senator smiles genially, handshakes, and the schedule goes down the drain.

This was demonstrated best when the Senator decided to buy a shaving brush. He had bought a fine one in Washington a few weeks back but had forgotten to pack it. Late in the afternoon when he was shaking hands in Ilkhorn, a small Wisconsin town, he spied a drugstore across the street and recalled his shaving problems. Although already 45 minutes behind time, he ambled over.

The caravan of cars, complete with police escort, was lined up and ready to go, but they just waited.

The purchase of the shaving brush took a little time and then further delay occurred when he took a notion that he wanted a chocolate malted. While this was going on, he talked with the people in the store and agreeably gave autographs to some teen-agers. Requests from aides that he hurry produced a friendly grin and no more. The malted finished, the official group started toward the door. They reckoned without the Senator. He recalled a need for filters for his cigaret-holder. A momentary crisis then developed for the only available filters were too long. He solved this by deciding that he could cut off the end with his pen knife. The 10-cent purchase was completed. There was additional handshaking in the drugstore and in the street and finally the caravan roared away. The only one amused by all this was the escorting police-officer, weary of hectic campaigning. It was nice, he said, to find a candidate who "didn't fret."

Kefauver won by a larger margin in Douglas and LaCrosse counties—which were visited by his wife, Nancy Kefauver—than he did elsewhere. She had never campaigned on her own to help her husband in his 14 years of political activity but in Wisconsin Mrs. Kefauver traveled 800 miles by plane to visit the far north and west where the Senator was not scheduled to go. Her quick political understanding where people are concerned was demonstrated in a factory tour in LaCrosse. Escorted by a personnel man, she broke away from the company's organized "informational" tour to wander about at random shaking hands with the men and women working at the machines.

The Kefauver campaign technique of "hunting voters" combined with a friendly but extremely studious appearance apparently paid off. He joked in a friendly but slow fashion as he wandered, as when he said that his native Tennessee had a few Republicans "back in the hills, where information spreads slowly." But his appeal was a contrast to that of the usual politician. He arrived as a headline figure, a creature of the newspapers and television, and left behind him the impression of an informal and neighborly man.

"The people trust him," one observer said.

Perhaps so. At any rate they voted for him in unusual numbers. Take Milwaukee, although do not consider it entirely typical. A Democratic stronghold in any November general election, it gave the top Democratic delegate, pledged to Truman, a total of 42,939 votes in the 1948 primary. The first-place Republican that year received 70,770 in a normal split of votes for Wisconsin. The story was different in 1952. Senator Kefauver polled an impressive total of 77,061 votes in Milwaukee County, more than any other candidate in either party. Governor Warren was next with 76,951 votes.

Just why the Democrats decided to turn out and vote for Kefauver is subject to debate and endless speculation. There are no final answers. But perhaps a listener who heard him in Green Bay points up the Democratic potential that Estes Kefauver revealed.

"I've got a big mortgage on my house, I've got eight kids and I have to work like hell to keep things going," he said seriously. "I can't afford to take a chance and vote for a Republican. I want to vote for a Democrat."

Who knows, perhaps those people who tell the Gallup investigators that they think the Democratic Party is best for them just want a chance to vote for a Democratic candidate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROPERTY AND PREJUDICE: *The Story of Sing Sheng*

by Edward Howden

YOUNG Mr. Sing Sheng of San Francisco, captain of intelligence in the Chinese Nationalist forces in World War II, made a mistake when he put his right to residence up for a vote by the homeowners of Southwood, a small suburban tract in the city of South San Francisco. But Southwood residents made an even more serious mistake, one which reverberated around the world, when they voted 174 to 28 to object to the Sheng family as prospective neighbors.

Though the balloting lacked legal force, Sheng stuck to his promise to abide by the outcome. He took back his $2,950 deposit on the home which was to have provided adequate space for his growing family, a safe, sunny play yard for three-year-old Richard and a handy 10-minute drive to his airplane mechanic job at Pan-American's terminal on the Bay. Southwood was left to its presumed racial purity.

Sing Sheng is a graduate of Earlham College, Indiana. His World War II service was with the Chinese Sixth Army in Burma. Three times he went to Japanese occupied Shanghai on intelligence missions. In 1947, he came to the United States to study for the diplomatic service, planning to return to China. Following Mao's victory he came to San Francisco, was trained as an airline mechanic, and went to work for Pan-American.

There had been no problem when Sheng and his family had moved into their pleasant but cramped little house in an almost completely "white" district in San Francisco. With their second baby due on Washington's birthday, the Shengs began house-hunting among the "Peninsula" suburbs south of San Francisco. In January, their search led to the Jack Densons' three-bedroom home in Southwood. Southwood's modest frame houses were built 10 years ago to sell for from $4,200 to $5,500; today they are all in the $10,000 to $12,000 bracket. Like other Bay Area subdivisions of the past decade, Southwood's Caucasian-only restrictions, even though unenforceable since the Supreme Court decision of May, 1948, appeared to have established the intended pattern. In mid-January, however, Jack Denson accepted a deposit from Sheng, and the sale seemed assured.

But one or two hard-core bigots nearby soon learned of the transaction. Three of Sheng's prospective neighbors talked with him, suggesting that his family would not be happy in Southwood and hinting that little children might throw rocks at the house and dump garbage on the lawn. Sheng later said, "I wonder how the children would know which house to throw rocks at unless their parents told them."

Denson was subjected to heavy pressure against going through with the sale—not only by this little group of neighbors but by George Williams of the American Homes Development Company, subdivider of Southwood, and Emmons McClung, South San Francisco city-manager and Southwood resident. Initially holding no brief for or against the Shengs, Denson refused to back down.

The agitated little group opposing the sale called a protest meeting on February 1. Sheng was invited at the last minute; they told him it would be a "calm discussion." Of Southwood residents who heard about the meeting, only 70 attended. These represented not more than 50 households, less than a fifth of 253 homes.

When his turn came, Sheng spoke with quiet eloquence of the worldwide struggle between Communism and democracy, and of the freedom and equality for which America is supposed to stand. But only a few were disposed to listen; the majority of those present were openly hostile. This was Sheng's first experience of discrimination, and he could only believe that he was facing the antagonism of a small, unrepresentative segment of the American people. He spoke aside to City-Manager McClung, chairman of the meeting, and suggested that perhaps all Southwood residents should be polled. McClung thought it was a fine idea. Sheng's other opponents, more astute than he as to how elections are won or lost, readily concurred.

The ballots went into the mail to be returned to McClung at his City Hall office. And the small band of bigots went to work. Just how they worked was revealed later—too late—when one homeowner, Mrs. Warren Mooney, spoke out to change her stand to favor the Sheng family. She told of the door-to-door campaigning. "They told us so many terrible things . . . that he was a Communist, that he himself was racially prejudiced against Negroes, things I know now are not true." One main scare argument was used throughout: that admitting Sheng would bring other Oriental buyers, then Negroes, and that "property values" would drop seriously. This argument was buttressed by an authoritative-sounding letter to all residents from subdivider George Williams.

Among those in Southwood who wished to welcome the Shengs, only Sgt. Kenneth Wills, a Marine on active

Edward Howden is executive director of the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco. He was formerly director of the California Housing and Planning Association.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duty, campaigned. He printed and distributed a card urging: "Let's . . . not be swayed by a few narrow-minded so-called Americans. . . . Let *your mind* and conscience be your guide. This is America, let's act like Americans!"

Sheng and his supporters failed, too, to ask help from organizations experienced in combatting such discrimination. They had not heard of the nearby citizen Councils for Civic Unity. Nor did they involve any churches, unions or veterans' groups.

The whole affair proceeded without word to the world outside Southwood until the San Francisco *Chronicle* broke the story on the morning of February 16—with all the ballots in and the counting to take place that very afternoon. Reading this first story in early editions the preceding evening, officers of the Council for Civic Unity immediately called upon Sheng, and with his warm consent made an eleventh-hour appeal to McClung to recommend withholding or setting aside the ballot opening. They warned him that otherwise the story would go around the world to the serious detriment of America's prestige, and told him of significant new evidence—findings of a new study, completed though not published, tending to refute the common notions about declining "property values" in interracial neighborhoods—which should be placed before the Southwood people. McClung refused. The world knows the result.

Several days after the ballot counting pro-Sheng residents of Southwood decided to call a meeting through which to re-issue a welcome to the Shengs should they be willing to proceed with the home purchase. These residents wanted, too, to interpret to the nation just what had happened, to give their answers to questions about the democratic process in their neighborhood. Accordingly, at a heavily attended meeting on Washington's birthday, just a week after the vote, this five-point analysis was offered:

1. Sheng erred in proposing a vote rather than exercising his legal right to residence.

2. Pro-Sheng residents neglected to campaign on his behalf.

3. Prior to the balloting there were no representative meetings, no full discussion, in Southwood, nor any public attention to the issue.

4. The anti-Sheng majority acted primarily in the unfounded fear that their property values were threatened. They were given no opportunity to consider the findings of the recent Bay Area study by the University of California researcher, Luigi Laurenti, which reveal that, at least in this area, this fear is unwarranted.

5. Southwood residents generally failed to recognize in time the serious national and international implications of such racial discrimination.

These were the lessons of Southwood, as seen by a group of her own residents. They hope other communities will avoid the same mistakes.

The heavy local coverage of the Sheng case served to smoke out related news, good and bad, around the country, and has probably influenced favorably the outcome of some later cases. Within three weeks the Bay Area alone produced two further significant developments. Wilbur Gary, Negro veteran and father of seven, became the first non-white to buy a home in the Rollingwood tract just outside San Pablo. Not intimidated by several window-breakings in his new home nor by verbal threats and encouraged by a substantial group of his new neighbors, Gary promptly moved in—and has stayed despite subsequent demonstrations of hostility. With the Sheng case fresh in mind, no one at Rollingwood even suggested voting on the issue. Though opposing Gary's purchase, the former Mississippian who is president of the tract's improvement association was so anxious that the neighborhood not become the target for publicity and criticism à la Southwood that he repeatedly advised against demonstrations of resistance. Thus the Gary case presented a striking contrast to its predecessor.

Next came the completely happy-ending case of Chinese American Fred Wing of Sonoma, a town north of San Francisco Bay. Wing, for many years cook at a resort hotel, bought a $12,000 home in the previously all-white Hillview tract. All 200 of the friends and neighbors invited to his house-warming party attended, including the mayor and most other prominent citizens.

The property value question is important. So long as it is generally believed that minority occupancy lowers surrounding residential values the fear of this consequence will operate seriously against full exercise of the right to residence. New research on the whole question is planned or under way in New York, Illinois and California. The Laurenti findings in San Francisco are not only favorable but apparently quite valid for single-family residential districts in this and comparable areas. Guided in part by real-estate brokers thoroughly familiar with specific sections of San Francisco, Laurenti compared resale prices in districts which had begun to be racially "mixed" since 1945 with those in comparable all-white neighborhoods. Of 121 sales *to whites* in nine such "mixed" neighborhoods, only five were at prices lower than the average—and these were "panic" sellers whose sales were unnecessary and unwise. In short, apart from these negligible panic transactions, Laurenti found no evidence that the race factor affected home prices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

PORTRAIT OF A STATESMAN

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG, edited by Arthur H. Vandenberg Jr. (Houghton, Mifflin; $5).

SAUL OF TARSUS, being on the road to Damascus, saw a great light and the resultant effect upon human history was so prodigious that the term has come to have a special significance. *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg,* as a title is about as inviting as "The Statistical Abstract of the United States" but it covers a book that is essentially an account of another incident on the Road to Dasmascus—dramatic, absorbing and significant to an extent not yet fully revealed but already very great.

His son, who edited this book, says that Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg for years cherished the desire, but never found time, to write a life of Saint Paul. The younger Vandenberg has no doubt that the basis of this desire is revealed in the book, for his father's conversion from isolationism to internationalism was the most profound psychological experience in his public career, as the light on the road was in that of the Apostle.

But there was no element of the miraculous in Vandenberg's case except as it is something of a miracle to find a stubborn man in whom honor is more powerful than stubbornness. Vandenberg made the change by slow degrees, through years of doubt and indecision with great distress of mind. When a man of strong convictions is compelled to yield them the inner tensions are always appalling and the documentary record of such a struggle while it may be comprised in private papers, is as certainly a part of the history of the mind of man as is the tragedy of Hamlet.

The younger Vandenberg has perceived this and has chosen from among the documents left by his father those covering the last ten years of his life and bearing directly on the process by which he changed. It is with some hesitation that he presents even so much. It is a questionable procedure, he says in an introduction, to publish the private papers of any man in public life shortly after his death. It was the Senator's intention to seal all his papers for ten years, although he did not bind his son and literary executor to this course; and the younger man has decided that the writings here presented are of sufficient historical importance to warrant making them known.

The decision was right, and not entirely for the reason that the editor offers. They do throw a flood of light upon the making of American foreign policy from 1941 to 1951; but they do more than that, they do something more important than that—they picture an honest man torn by divided loyalties and achieving "through great tribulation" his intellectual salvation. Vandenberg's moral integrity was never at stake, but his intellectual integrity was, and the slow, bitter process of its rescue is drama on a high level.

It comes at a fortunate moment for more than historical reasons. The literary market is being flooded this year with confessions of persons who assert that they have had a change of heart, but most of them are such dubious characters that their revelations are more sickening than inspiring. Snoopers, sneaks, and key-hole peepers on every street-corner have the effrontery to instruct the rest of us in the principles of patriotism and honor; and so common has the practice become that readers are in danger of falling into the delusion that the mere fact that a man has changed his mind is evidence that he is now, or once was a scoundrel.

Here, though, is a convert who never betrayed either his country or his friend, who never swore to a lie once, not to mention seven times, and who never collected either a fat salary or thousands in royalties for revealing what a rogue, or what a fool, or both, he was in other years. All Vandenberg got out of changing sides was kicks and hard work; but he was an honest man to begin with and he changed for honest reasons. His story is a reminder that a man of honor can be wrong, but when he sees that he is wrong will stand up and admit it; so it comes into the present situation like a strong sea-wind sweeping over a fetid swamp.

In another aspect the book is strikingly unusual for these times. The Senator from Michigan was no namby-pamby character. He had enemies, and he hated them with a consuming hatred; but even in his hates he was high-minded. He found American public life full of villains, some of them very gaudy indeed; but on the evidence of these pages he never, or hardly ever, encountered one who was not only a villain, but a low swine as well. Pirates he found all over the place, but he doesn't describe a single triple-plated heel in all Washington.

There are two explanations of this. One is that as ranking minority member, or chairman, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Vandenberg moved on a very high level, rarely coming in contact with the petty officials among whom most of the mink-coat boys and other rodents have appeared. A second, and better, explanation is that being a gentleman himself he expected, and usually found, gentlemanly conduct among his associates, even those whom he was fighting tooth and nail. He loathed Franklin D. Roosevelt and held Harry S. Truman in light esteem; but the spiteful and dirty personal attacks on the President he repudiated with fastidious scorn.

Thus reading his book becomes an antidote for the poisons of partisan controversy. It is evidence that with all the folly and crime that are rife in Washington there is also a great deal of honest, honorable and able labor for the common good. Not everyone in the capital lives with an eye single to his own advantage; there are patriots there, as well as politicians, and this unimpeachable witness testifies that some of the slickest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the politicians are capable, at times, of sacrificing themselves for their country's good.

As far as factual information goes, there is little in the book that will alter accepted views of what happened at San Francisco in 1945, or at any of the many conferences in which Vandenberg participated at Paris, London, New York and other places. But there is much that may change our view of the men who did the work. Even such a character as Molotov takes on a slightly different hue in the light of Vandenberg's unwilling respect; and many others emerge as far more honest, hard-working, and sincere men than they had seemed before.

Above all, here is an impressive presentation of the dimensions of the task. The forging of anything approximating a rational foreign policy for the past seven years has been a labor of Hercules, and for at least seven years to come there seems to be little chance of a relaxation of the strain. Reading Vandenberg inclines one to be very tolerant indeed of the errors of men struggling with such a task; and in the current uproar a little additional tolerance certainly will not come amiss.

It is true that this book is a frankly *ex parte* statement. It is true also—it is explicitly stated in the introduction—that we have here only one aspect of the subject. Philosophers from Plato down have agreed that every man is multitudinous, and here is only one Vandenberg, the creator of the bipartisan foreign policy. There must be others, and some of them may look very different from this one. But what of that? This one is none the less authentic, and at least for the moment this is the one of most interest and significance.

Our current gallery of public figures is all too replete, God knows, with pictures of quislings and ward-heelers, so to find hanging there a portrait of a patriot and a statesman is a stimulant and a delight. In presenting it, the junior Vandenberg has performed an act of filial piety that will redound to his credit for many a day to come.

GERALD JOHNSON

INSIGHTS OF VALUE

THE COMMON PURSUIT, by F. R. Leavis (George W. Stewart; $4.50).

IN READING the literary criticism of Dr. Leavis one is constantly in danger of being put off by the oddly strained acerbity of his manner. He is, like our own Mr. Yvor Winters, one of the Angry Men of Academe: both his shoulders are piled high with chips, and his prose is constantly on the verge of lurid eruption. But one would be wrong to be distracted by this idiosyncracy, for he is a man devoted to literature, an acute scholar (he would probably deny this indignation), and one of the most accomplished critics of our time. He has never enjoyed the recognition which he deserves—no one is more bitterly conscious of this than himself— and it is to be hoped that the publication of his latest book will be the occasion for making general amends.

The Common Pursuit is a collection of widely ranging essays whose primary aim is the careful investigation of the text: what is said—not what one wishes had been said, not what one day-dreams might have been said, but the actuality. This aim is not so easy of achievement as might be supposed. In the most tranquil of latitudes it's hard enough to keep your eye on the object; it's next to impossible when half the fiends of Hell (or so it would seem) are yapping at your heels; and the brilliance with which Dr. Leavis accomplishes his job, explosions and all, is a measure of his status as a critic. This status is very high: not easily, in Bacon's phrase, to be commanded. And at his best he seems to me to have said the unanswerable last word.

This is so, for instance, in most of his Shakspere criticism. The essays on *Measure for Measure* and "Shakspere's Late Plays" are brief; but how refreshing it is to find so much said, so unassumingly, and yet so pungently! Only less persuasive is "Diabolic Intellect and the Noble Hero," or, "The Sentimentalist's Othello," where he tangles, somewhat cloudily, with both Professors Bradley and Stoll. There is no absolute victory, I fear, but the encounter is vividly entertaining. True, there is the customary violence: Professor Bradley is denied "moderate intelligence" in his approach to *Othello*, and is accused of "misdirected scrupulosity" and "comical solemnity, completely wrong-headed"; while poor Professor Stoll, commended for avoiding Bradley's obtuseness, is nevertheless belabored for equally serious errors of his own. But out of the struggle and flight emerges a reading of *Othello* that has at once the shock of novelty and, so far as I am concerned, a kind of perverse power of conviction. Iago is reduced: indeed, he becomes little more than a minor character, a tool; Othello is stripped of all but verbal nobility; and the plot becomes a sort of Pirandello exercise in ironic deflation. (I must also record what I hope is a typographical error and not a new variant reading:

I had been happy if the general camp,
Prisoners and all, had tasted her sweet body;

though how *Pioneers* became *Prisoners*, is not easy to understand.) The exposition is rather snippy, almost as though Dr. Leavis were too impatient to waste his time attacking the obvious; but there are sudden moments of insight that admit of no reply, such as this on Bradley's remark that "[Othello's] trust, where he trusts, is absolute":

Othello's trust, then can never have been in Desdemona. It is the vindication of Othello's perfect nobility that Bradley is pre-occupied with, and we are to see the immediate surrender to Iago as part of that nobility. But to make absolute trust in Iago—trust at Desdemona's expense—"a manifestation of perfect nobility is (even if we ignore what it makes of Desdemona) to make Iago a very remarkable person indeed. And that, Bradley, tradition aiding and abetting, proceeds to do." *Plaudite omnes!*

Without doubt, the fiends alluded to earlier will be attracted most fiendishly by Dr. Leavis's two Milton essays, "Mr. Eliot and Milton" and "In Defense of Milton." That *cause celebre!* Years ago Mr. Eliot, by means of a handful of searching criticisms, but chiefly by means of altering the course of English poetry itself, "dislodged" Milton. Dr. Leavis "slavishly" followed; and, as a matter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of fact, did far more to discredit Milton than Mr. Eliot's few criticisms had done —or, in all likelihood, had intended to do. Then, quite recently, Mr. Eliot "recanted"; and Dr. Leavis was left in the risible position of holding the bag. Or did Mr. Eliot recant? Dr. Leavis thinks that he did not; or to the extent that he *did*, that he was bemused by error. In any event, the bag is still being most firmly held; but———no, the contents are not of signal worth. The combat, again, is fun; indeed, it is played on the level of high comedy; but when it is over, with Dr. Leavis triumphant in his corner and Mr. Eliot placidly at ease in *his*, the *corpus delicti* has still a most lifelike air. We have been sent back to read Milton (which, *pace* Dr. Leavis, is always a salutary experience), and we find that the poetry remains, literally intact. It is time that the *cause célèbre* were decelebrated.

Other subjects can be described only briefly. In "Bunyan Through Modern Eyes", Mr. Jack Lindsay (deservedly) and Mr. W. Y. Tindall (undeservedly, I think) are left gasping on the shore. "The Progress of Poesy" disposes of two of the Sitwells, in the cattiest of Faculty Commons manners; also the Warden of Wadham; and Mr. Auden. Fortunately for the reputations involved, this essay is not criticism; at best it is an essay in personal exasperation. In "The Wild, Untutored Phoenix" Irving Babbitt dies again to what I can only call an epigrammatic cadenza for bass drum: "who, being thus in sensibility undeveloped or dead, can hardly, without misplacing a stress, be called intelligent!" Mr. C. S. Lewis and Miss Dorothy Sayers bite the dust together on page 87; so, for that matter, do Mr. P. G. Wodehouse and Mr. Lytton Strachey. And here, even in praise, Dr. Leavis is dour: writing of Joseph Wood Krutch's excellent *Samuel Johnson*, he begins: "Mr. Krutch's book, I must confess, surprised me very agreeably. It is not only inoffensive; it is positively good."

This is the acerbity which I have mentioned. I find myself over-emphasizing it at the end of my notice; and yet it is not the tone which I wish to leave with my reader. *The Common Pursuit* is violent and often graceless, but it is never less than devoted to the cause of English literature, to the better understanding of that literature. Forget the snarling. Here is a guide to the books. DUDLEY FITTS

UNDERGROUND NOTES

INVISIBLE MAN, by Ralph Ellison (Random House; $3.50).

TO PARAPHRASE Graham Greene's already classic remark, "I am not a Catholic writer, but a writer who happens to be a Catholic," it can be said of Ralph Ellison that he is not a Negro writer, but a writer who happens to be a Negro. The parallels between these otherwise dissimilar novelists are that each within a brief space of time has written a book concerned with his dominating stigmata, semi-autobiographical, in the first person singular and yet in each instance the work of a writer whose writing as such overrides his preoccupation with, in Mr. Green's case, religion, and in Mr. Ellison's, race. In addition, both are masters at catching the shape, flavor and sound of the common vagaries of human character and experience.

Here the resemblances cease, and it is up to one's approach to fiction which author comes off on top. For Greene, who has it over Ellison in age and experience, is perhaps the finest living writer of the well-made book in which every word, sentence, paragraph and chapter is a dependent and contributor to a perfected whole. Ellison, whose first novel this is, although he already exhibits considerable technical maturity, has not yet achieved the integration of skill, experience and view of life necessary to the seriously ambitious novel. But in a time when the poles of fictional success have been reached by tidy little bundles of nothing and sprawling monsterpieces which appear to have gone directly from an adolescent's typewriter to the printer without benefit of editorial midwifery, it is a joy to encounter a vigorous imaginative, violently humorous and quietly tragic book that is informed with far more than the rudiments of the novelist's art.

It would be unfair in a necessarily brief review to go further than to outline Ellison's narrative or the thesis that underlies and controls it. This is the story of one man, born in the American South, whose exceptional abilities brought him educational opportunities and later in the North social and cultural "advantages" denied the vast majority of his race. It is a story told accurately and with a redeeming hilarity of a pensive disillusionment. On the road to invisibility, our pilgrim encounters the Southern small businessman, the Uncle Tom educator, the Northern do-gooder, the Negro military racist, the Harlem messiah with a sideline in numbers, the socio-scientific, highly organized Brothers whose Sisters most frequently discussed the dialectic in the boudoir, a journey that would have left Bunyan's Christian without care or hope for redemption. Ellison's solution, with a little aid from Dostoevsky and Kafka, is ingenious and original —perhaps a little too much so of both.

Invisible Man is a book shorn of the racial and political cliches that have encumbered the "Negro novel." It firmly establishes Ellison with that small group of writers—William Faulkner, Bucklin Moon, J. Saunders Redding—as an artist in handling his given material. The bane of the problem novel, in particular the "Negro novel," in America is that the cart of the subject has preceded the horse of artistic sensibility. Having given ample proof of the latter, it can be earnestly hoped that from the underground to which history and human frailty has driven him, Ellison can emerge to write of other places.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

QUEST FOR THE IDEAL

A POTTER'S PORTFOLIO by Bernard Leach (Pitman, $17.50).

IN AN AGE characterized by an ever growing tendency to buy what one needs, from household goods to entertainment, it is noteworthy that so many have returned to the simple virtues of fashioning things with their hands. Studios and workshops thrive as never before in our time; and it is apparent that pottery provides one of the most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

satisfying outlets for this urge to make things. The working of wet clay in the bare hands, the shaping and turning involved in transforming a lump of clay into a hollow vessel are accompanied by both frustrations and satisfactions of an order not usually associated with other pursuits. The goal of this work, the good pot, and the definition of that goal are constant preoccupations of the practising potter.

It is the definition that Bernard Leach attempts to tackle in this book. In response to what he felt was a popular demand, this leading English potter has selected 60 pots in which he and his friends "find life and beauty"; and each of his categories ("Primitive", "Pre-industrial" and "Post-industrial") contains some superb examples though the standard is by no means uniformly high. The latter group includes with his own work only pots thrown by his Japanese masters and his English disciples, an Olympian conceit that ill becomes him who can write of "nobility, generosity, breadth, simplicity, sincerity and charity" as "virtues common to both man and pot". The many American potters who were charmed by his personality and sat at his feet in 1950 will hardly take kindly to this cavalier treatment; but Leach's writing may serve a purpose if it reminds them that a potter's place is at his wheel. In this case, at least the role of potter as philosopher doesn't quite come off, and the result is an embarrassing display of the very self-consciousness he finds so detrimental to the art of our time. JOHN A. POPE

Mr. Pope is assistant director of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington.

MUSEUMS BY CHILDREN

THE ART OF CHILDREN, by Richard Ott (Pantheon; $4).

IT IS NOT the least irony of our times that the unchallenged advance of science and technology strikes quietly and irrevocably in the minds, the sensibilities and the imaginations of our children. The blow falls perhaps hardest in the imagination.

I know of no more forceful testimony of these dangers, and I refer to standardization of thinking and to mass imagination, than this volume—*The Art of Children*—gathered by the teacher, Richard Ott, and introduced by Herbert Read. This art bespeaks a fundamental principle in the teaching of children: that their imagination and their capacity for origination must never be stunted. The marvelous, which the child's imagination can reach when it is really liberated, is graphically proved in each of the color reproductions of children's art. But such self-expression is not all: as Mr. Read rightfully insists, the child must be induced to appreciate the meaning of the art of others.

> Esthetic enjoyment proceeds from an instinct as natural and spontaneous as any of the pleasures of life. It must be developed from the young child's delight in color and self-expression and not from books or lectures. . . .

Every parent should read and enjoy this portfolio; should reflect upon it; should take a vow that his children shall have similar opportunities to paint or to draw; should resolve to honor the pictures his child makes. For each of the works of some twenty children, none of whom had special training nor—in our antiquated and ridiculous sense of the word—genius, is the result of a simple creative act. How much this act is being neglected in the home, and more damningly in the school, and is being forced into oblivion by standardization of all our public art forms, or by conventional thinking, one cannot know.

Yet this strong and earthy statement of children is made at a time when conventionalization is hard upon them, be it the placement in an age-level characteristic by Arnold Gessell; be it the sordid, uniform mental images spewed out of the television sets (children no longer *have* to imagine even a tree in any scene); or be it the work of Disney, the destroyer of myth, who burns his images of Johnny Appleseed, Alice in Wonderland, or Snow White into the minds of children by technicolor;—yes, whatever the degree and convention of the average, this collection of drawings, paintings and water colors by children is a delicate denial of mass imagination. ROBERT RICHMAN

Mr. Richman, NR literary editor, directs the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Washington.

WEALTH OF THE WORLD

ENERGY SOURCES, by Eugene Ayres and Charles Scarlott (McGraw-Hill; $5).

NO CLEARER SURVEY has yet appeared of the world's energy sources and of future prospects than this study by Ayres and Scarlott. Their impressive array of facts and figures and their sensible judgments are at once a challenge to complacency and a refutation of fashionably dismal prophecies. We—by which I mean the entire world—are neither as well off in our fuel supply as we might wish nor as badly off as we deserve.

Contemporary fuel problems differ of course from country to country. The United States is rich in fossil fuels—coal and oil, mainly—and in hydroelectric resources. Russia's "proved resources" of oil are not 20% of those of the US, but her "ultimate production" is estimated 50% greater than ours. The Middle East has more than either country but it is not thought to have much coal. Venezuela is well fixed in oil, China in coal, but both are poor the other way around. Europe's oil supply is relatively insignificant but the coal fields are still to be reckoned with; Brazil has large amounts of thorium (for nuclear energy) but her total estimated oil reserves would last only three days in the US.

The long term prospect, over 40 or 50 years, say, is that these differences will level off and all countries will find themselves pretty much in the same case. The US is already beginning to count its barrels of oil reserves and finds it prudent to import increasing amounts. We are apt to boast of our annual two and a half billion barrel oil production, which is 10% of the US proved reserve, and 3% of the optimistic estimates of ultimate production. The trillions (seven plus or minus) of tons of world coal reserves will not "last for thousands of years": indeed, "less than a century is likely to see the beginning of coal's decline as king of energy sources." Oil shales and tars are insufficient to defer the pinch by more than a few years; nuclear fuels, for all their dramatic possibilities of either blowing man off the globe or wafting him to other planets, are too scarce to meet world energy needs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on a sustained and continuing basis.

What then is to become of our descendants? Their expectation, the authors assure us (as if we really cared), is bright and secure. The key to it is the certainty of technological advance, as a result of which solar energy will be harnessed to make up for, indeed more than make up for, the dwindling supply of energy from other sources. Among the methods of utilization of solar energy are: new techniques for growing fuel, e.g., large scale peat bogs; improved exploitation of hydroelectric sites (at least a six-fold increase is envisaged); "solar collectors" for power and for space-heating; heat-pumps; taping the energy reservoir of tropical waters. Altogether, by conservative forecast, the world should be able to derive from solar sources some 40 trillion horsepower-hours per annum, which by happy coincidence, "happens to be the amount assumed for present world requirements." This amount may not, however, suffice to meet the needs of decennial wars, or to satisfy industrial expansion or to keep the automobiles of Burma running when the Burmese get automobiles.

But at any rate, our grandchildren have nothing to fear if they can survive the consequences of other scientific improvements. JAMES R. NEWMAN

BOOKS IN BRIEF

GREAT VOICES OF THE REFORMATION, edited by Harry Emerson Fosdick (Random House; $5).

"This anthology," according to its editor, "endeavors to present, within the limits of a single volume, the major emphases of Protestant thought from John Wycliffe to John Wesley." In the main, Dr. Fosdick has drawn his material from the writings of the most significant figures. Huss, Luther, Calvin and John Knox are quoted extensively. The documents themselves are presented in chronological order, and demonstrate the evolutionary character of the Protestant movement. Dr. Fosdick, introducing each of the authors, has supplied a valuable commentary. His sociological and cultural information relates the separate sects to each other, and helps to explain the reasons for theological differences between Protestants of different persuasions.

As an apostle of the Ecumenical Movement, Dr. Fosdick hopes to minimize the importance of sectarian variations. His own prejudice allows him a surprising tolerance of even such writers as Cotton Mather; it also allows him to document the fury and savagery of sixteenth century Protestantism with complete objectivity. Fosdick realizes that truth, even when it seems ugly, cannot hurt his cause.

The book is primarily a documentation of theological teachings, though the relation of the church to the state is also dealt with rather thoroughly. Mysticism —the aspect of religion which interested William James so much—is not stressed here. If one may assume that religious feeling is the product of doctrine, a revaluation of Protestant mysticism is surely as important as a restatement of theological views. My only serious reservation about the book is that it is not sufficiently concerned with the effects of the Reformation. R. E.

THE ELLEN KNAUFF STORY, by Ellen Knauff (Norton; $3.50).

Ellen Knauff, a young German-born war bride, was forced to remain on Ellis Island for two of her three-year fight for the right to live in America. Her story of the events that befell her, told in chronological order and in unpretentious style, serves to indict the arbitrary methods and the face-saving techniques used by some Immigration officials.

Had it not been for her personal courage, the untiring assistance of her lawyer, Gunther Jacobson, and two newspapers—the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the New York *Post*—Ellen Knauff would be just a name on the ever-increasing list of aliens excluded as "prejudicial to the public interest."

Mrs. Knauff describes her inquisitions on Ellis Island; the hearing by the Immigration Board of Special Inquiry which rendered a verdict of "guilty", after three government witnesses offered evidence of her alleged espionage activities, while she was with the American Military Government in Germany; the Justice Department's attempt to deport her only to be stopped by a stay granted by Supreme Justice Robert Jackson. Finally a hearing before the Board of Immigration Appeals, on August 29, 1951, ordered that she be admitted to the US for permanent residence. The Board's 18-page decision is an essay on the misuse of uncorroborated heresay and should be required reading for all. Mrs. Knauff has taken out her citizenship papers and she is now waiting final action on them before she joins her husband, who is with the US government in Germany. J. B.

THERE WAS A MAN IN OUR TOWN, by Granville Hicks (Viking; $3).

Partially because he has been stereotyped as a critic and ex-Communist, Granville Hicks has never been recognized adequately as a novelist. Yet his *The First to Awaken* is one of the most plausible Utopian novels of our century, his *Behold Trouble* a very discerning study of conscientious objection; until the publication of *There Was a Man in*

A vital chapter in the struggle for the minds of men

Marx Against the Peasant

By DAVID MITRANY

The first detailed study of Marxist theory and practice in dealing with peasant problems and peasant movements in Europe. Mr. Mitrany explores the great paradox of modern history—that Marxism, which is uniformly hostile to those who live on the land, has in every instance risen to power on the backs of disaffected peasantries. This brilliant analysis provides a key for understanding why Communism must rely upon force to maintain its power in backward countries throughout the world.

$4.50 at all bookstores

Chapel Hill THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Town, Only One Storm stood out as the best small town novel that avoided the opposite excesses of Sinclair Lewis and Zona Gale. If he does not have the eloquence of Faulkner or the originality of Hemingway, Mr. Hicks does have a disinterested shrewdness and balance excessively rare in modern fiction.

Explicitly and vividly Mr. Hicks' latest novel explores sociologist Ellery Hodder's effort to make theory work in small town Colchester, New York. Implicity it does much more. Small town represents all towns, little politics big.

There are dozens of characters anyone who has perceived will recognize and learn to know better. The tone is laughter but you should look for the serious point. You emerge from the book knowing a lot more about do-gooders and the virtues of people of any party who try unpretentiously to put their conscience into practice. From the aesthetic distance of a man who knows our total society very well, Mr. Hicks makes more profound sense out of a small town than most writers who pretend they are writing the great American novel. H.C.W.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS, by Gore Vidal (Dutton; $3.50).

Vidal's seventh novel is about a young American's grand tour of Europe. It takes a rather wordy interest in his problem of deciding what to do with his life, but it is really more concerned with observing certain symptomatic mores in the society around him, i.e., the fringes of the international set, and in particular, the intricately organized underground of homosexual activity flourishing in Paris and Rome. Since literature in English has hardly acknowledged this aspect of society at all, any attempt to treat it with candor merits serious consideration. Moreover, since Mr. Vidal's concern is not sensational, I question his strategy of setting off his descriptions of hermaphrodite worship, 'drag' parties, and the pleasures of the Baths of Nero, with an improbably prudish hero, who concupiscently gapes and flirts—all this in strict deference to the readers back home who find it all untouchable. Mr. Vidal should not betray his subject in the shoddy interest of flattering his readers' possible prejudices. R. P.

WOZZECK AGAIN

THE NEW YORK CITY Opera Company has just staged Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*. As the piece has not been heard in America theatre since 1931, the new production is historically significant, and a great *coup* for Joseph Rosenstock, who conducted. Originally, *Wozzeck* was thought of as a brilliant radical work, around which myths and legends have grown during the years of silence; yet I'm afraid that most of them will expode now. *Wozzeck* is an imaginative work, but it is surprisingly conventional in its effect. Arnold Schonberg's influence is apparent in the music, but Berg's use of Schonberg's methods is extremely free. Much of Berg's personality is conditioned by his reverence for the music of the past, and his heavy debt to earlier composers is especially apparent in this score.

Wozzeck is carefully planned, and is based on a number of traditional instrumental forms: the second act is designed as a five-movement symphony; the rest of the work contains a whole suite, sets of variations, figures and other traditional structures, but they are subordinated to the dramatic content of the piece, and call attention to themselves only in the score. More obvious technical and idiomatic devices seem to be rooted in the music of Wagner, Debussy and Puccini.

The Wagnerian influence is perhaps the strongest and certainly the most noticeable here. Aside from the obviously lush harmonic and melodic content, Berg has made use of the leit-motif technique. As *Wozzeck* becomes better known its relation to *Tristan* and the *Ring* should be increasingly obvious; yet more strongly the influence of Debussy and Puccini is most evident in Berg's vocal writing. The singing in *Wozzeck* is overwhelmingly declamatory. After Wagner, opera composers worked the ancient device of vocal declamation almost to death (Gian-Carlo Menotti still shows a preverse affection for this exhausted dramatic means). *Wozzeck* is not as exclusively declamatory as *Pelleas*, but it is less lyrical than *Madame Butterfly*. The composer has provided substitutes for the old-fashioned set piece, with varying degrees of success. The beautiful lullaby of the first act has to compete with a grim waltz in the second act, and between these two extremes there are other settings which vary considerably in style.

To avoid the monotony of a constantly sung recitative, the composer has introduced speech and its near relative Sprechstimme, into the declamatory portions of this opera. In performance, the lines which are meant to be really sung can be disastrously vague. The presence of spoken lines seems to affect the accuracy of the singing; in this performance the singers allowed themselves a latitude which strikes me as inconsistent with the score.

Mr. Rosenstock got so much power out of his orchestra that the singers were frequently overwhelmed. Although the opera was done in English, the translation was not much help, as only occasional words came through clearly. I think that more of the language would have been understood if the singers had not had to shout in order to be heard.

One of those purple studies in melodrama, the libretto fascinated Austrian intellectuals thirty years ago. It is full of the sentimentality and stagey contrivances that opera audiences still tolerate. *New Directions* and the *Universal*

LITERARY SERVICES

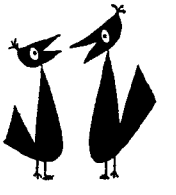
AUTHORS! Sales department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet. Write to-day! Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. (Or. 9-1150).

PERSONAL

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



CLASSIFIED RATES
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year.... 9c
ADVERTISING DEPT.
New Republic 40 E. 49 St. N.Y.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edition have published a translation which is certainly not acceptable as literature, and which should make for very dull theatre without music. Most of the excitement in the work comes from the score rather than the action but the two should be interdependent. Because of bad enunciation, I cannot judge this translation, but what I heard needs improvement. One of the most harrowing lines—"Du! dein Muter ist todt"— is addressed to the illegitimate issue of Marie and Wozzeck, both of whom have died violently. I am not satisfied with "Dickie's Mommie is dead."

The principal parts in *Wozzeck* make terrible demands on the singers. Patricia Neway, who played the heroine in this production, had the necessary range and power for the role. She was sensitive to the lyrical as well as the dramatic implications of her part, and mastered the wide stylistic variations required of her. Marko Rothmuller, who sang the title role, took small advantage of the eloquent aria-like writing, occasionally assigned to him, with the result that many of his great scenes were unnecessarily tedious; even the singers of minor roles did not seem to be completely secure. Altogether the production obviously needs more thoughtful rehearsal.

In spite of performance deficiencies which should have been obvious, the audience received the work very cordially. Undoubtedly some people were profoundly moved, but I suspect that many of the listeners relaxed their critical standards on behalf of a good cause: enthusiasm should not be confused with appreciation. Berg's idiom has become so familiar during the past few years that future bad performances of *Wozzeck* should be treated as sternly as inept readings of *Boris Godunov* and *Pelleas*, which it resembles in many ways.

It is good to have *Wozzeck* back in the theatre where it belongs. It is a major accomplishment by an important composer, and the fact that it is dated should not hurt its effectiveness. The addition of any relatively recent work to the operatic repertory is commendable: the City Center has shown good sense as well as courage in programming this opera.

ROBERT EVETT

TOO HOT TO HANDLE!

"The Hidden History of the Korean War" *By I. F. STONE*

A letter to New Republic readers

Leading publishers in the United States and England found I. F. Stone's new book "terrific—but too hot to handle!" We felt its publication was essential in the fight for peace, so we are publishing it ourselves. It will be out May 5th.

"The Hidden History of the Korean War" is as exciting as a detective story and as documented as a lawyer's brief. With unrivaled skill and penetration, it shows the inner connection between war, propaganda and politics. This is no keyhole-and-gossip "inside" story. On the contrary, it is what its title says—the hidden history of the Korean war, which Stone, with extraordinary tenacity and patience, has dug out of official propaganda. He throws a flood of light on the war's origins, on the Chinese intervention, on MacArthur's dismissal, and on the tangled truce talks since then.

We believe that every American who wants peace, who wants to keep the atmosphere of this country free of hate poisons, and who wants to save America from domination by the military, will want to read this book and put it in the hands of his friends.

Leo Huberman
Paul M. Sweezy

"Book of the Year" or "'Futile Slaughter' Be Damned"?

Which of these two opposite viewpoints will *you* agree with?

"I would nominate 'The Hidden History of the Korean War' for the Book-of-the-Year if there were such an award given for courage and honesty in writing of the crisis of time. Here there are no sensational charges, no unfounded accusations. With his fine intelligence, Mr. Stone analyzes events and statements, searching always for the motive behind the act, like a good historian-detective."
—Matthew Josephson

OR

"It may all be true; but what difference does it make? We had to bring Russia to a stop somewhere . . . 'Futile slaughter, be damned! No fighting was ever less futile."
—Upton Sinclair

Save $2 on Pre-Publication Price

Although the price of the Stone book will be $5 in bookstores you can enjoy a substantial saving by sending in your advance order under either of these generous offers:

1. Pre-Publication Price of $3 (You save $2): Your order in advance of publication will bring you the book postpaid as soon as it is off the press the end of April.
2. Combination Subscription-Book Price of $5 (You save $3): A subscription to Monthly Review costs $3 per year. Send in $5 and you will get a year's subscription and the book postpaid as soon as it is off the press the end of April.

Monthly Review is an independent magazine devoted to analyzing, from a socialist point of view, the most significant trends in domestic and foreign affairs. It is edited by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy.

Professor Albert Einstein in his article "Why Socialism" in Vol. 1, No. 1 of Monthly Review, said: "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under the present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service."

Monthly Review
Dept. NR, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y.
I enclose:
☐ $3, the pre-publication price of Stone's book.
☐ $5, for a one-year subscription to Monthly Review and Stone's book.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Next Week In The New Republic

JUSTICE
WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
ON
"THE POWER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS"

In an article, taken from his extemporaneous speech to the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development—available in full only to New Republic readers—Justice Douglas calls for "Point Five," a dynamic program for progress overseas.

"Do we believe in the righteousness of power?"
"I thought we believed in the power of righteousness!"

Read Justice Douglas' forthright call for an American policy to secure the future—in next weeks New Republic only.

SPECIAL SPRING

HALF-PRICE OFFER

Cut out this coupon and receive 30 weeks of the *New Republic* for only $3. This is only half the single copy price. Mail this coupon TODAY! This offer is open for a limited time only.

CUT

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 E. 49 ST. • NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Please enter a subscription to the *New Republic* in my name at the special Spring Introductory rate of 30 weeks for only $3—exactly half the regular single copy price.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

4-21-52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED